I Great Britain & Feland Parliament

THE

IRISH PROTEST

TO THE

MINISTERIAL MANIFESTO,

CONTAINED IN THE

Address of the British Parliament

TO THE

K I N G

He could raise Scruples dark and nice,
And after solve them in a trice;
Altho by weeful Proof we find,
They always leave a Scar behind;
As if Duplicity and Nonsense
Had got th advovuson of his Conscience.

DUBLIN:

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If is Parliamentary to consider all Addresses to the Throne of the Productions of the Minister, but the following song the Performance has a more particular Claim to be in excel in this light, as it was moved by Mr. PIET in Michigan Defence of his Conduct, and paffed both Houses with duendment. Watter cours was do east off

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e nent Commercial Settlement offween Your Wajesty's Kingdoms of Circut Bri-

We have proceeded on the Materday Anna Don Deno Riole End S mo a of Ireland; but in confidering to execufive an Arrangellan, exve have found in

necessary of intendence from Madifications and Exceptions and Ve have belied such

Paffed by the British House of Commons on Monday the 25th of July, and agreed to by the Houle of Lords. and courtable Price

"TTTE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament affembled, have taken into our most ferious Consi-" deration the important Subject of the "Commercial Intercourse between Great "Britain and Ireland, recommended in "Your Majesty's Speech at the opening of " the present Session, and the Resolutions " of the two Houses of the Parliament of " Ireland, which were laid before Us, by "Your Majesty's Command, on the 22d of February last.

2. " After a long and careful Investigation of the various Questions necessarily ari-

We have come to the several Resolutions, which We now humbly present to Your Majesty, and which We trust will form the Basis of an advantageous and permanent Commercial Settlement between Your Majesty's Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

g. "We have proceeded on the Foundation of the Resolutions of the Parliament
of Ireland; but in considering so extensive an Arrangement, We have sound it
necessary to introduce some Modifications
and Exceptions, and We have added such
Regulations and Conditions as appeared
to us indispensably necessary for estabsishing the proposed Agreement on just
and equitable Principles, and for securing
and equitable Principles, and for securing
to both Countries those Commercial Advantages, to an equal Enjoyment of
which they are in future to be entitled.

"Your Majesty's Subjects in Ireland be-

4. "Your Majesty's Subjects in Ireland being secured in a full and lasting Participation of the Trade with the British Colonies, must, we are persuaded, acknowledge the Justice of their continuing to
enjoy it on the same Terms with Your
Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain.

"Majetty's Subjects in Great Britain.

5. "And it is, we conceive, equally manifest, that as the Ships and Mariners of "Ireland are to continue in all Time to "come to enjoy the same Privileges with "those of Great Britain, the same Provisions should be adopted in Ireland as may

" be

" be found necessary in this Country, for " fecuring those Advantages exclusively to " the Subjects of the Empire. This Object " is effentially connected with the Maritime "Strength of Your Majesty's Dominions, "and consequently with the Safety and " Prosperity both of Great Britain and Ire-" land.

6." We therefore deem it indispensible that " these Points should be secured as Condi-" tions necessary to the existence and du-" ration of the Agreement between the two " Countries. They can only be carried " into Effect by Laws to be passed by the Parliament of Ireland, which is alone " competent to bind your Majesty's Subjects " in that Kingdom, and whose Legislative

" Rights we shall ever hold as facred as our " own.

7. " It remains for the Parliament of Ireland " to judge, according to their Wifdom and, " Diferetion, of these Conditions, as well " as of every other Part of the Settlement " proposed to be established by mutual Con-" fent.

8." Our Purpose in these Resolutions is to " promote alike the Commercial Interests " of Your Majesty's Subjects in both Coun-" tries, and We are perfuaded that the " common Prosperity of the two Kingdoms " will be thereby greatly advanced, the " Subjects of each will in future apply " themselves to those Branches of Commerce " which they can exercise with the most

advantage, and the Wealth fo diffused through every Part will operate as a general Benefit to the whole.

9. "We have thus far performed our Part
"in this important Business, and we trust
that, in the whole of its Progress, recipro-

" cal Interest and mutual Affection will in-"fure that Spirit of Union so essentially necessary to the great End which the two

" Countries have equally in View.

10. "In this Perfuasion we look forward with "Confidence on the final Completion of a "Measure which, while it tends to perpe-

"tuate Harmony and Friendship between

" the two Kingdoms, must, by augmenting their Resources, uniting their Efforts, and

" confolidating their Strength, afford Your

" Majesty the furest Means of establishing " on a lasting Foundation the Safety, Pros-

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" perity, and Glory of the Empire."

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

THE foregoing Address being evidently composed for your Perusal, and much Industry having been used by Administration to disperse it thro' the Kingdom; as well as much stress having been laid on some flattering and sounding Expressions in that Address to divert your Attention and to lull you to Security, in order that the insidious Designs of the British Cabinet might be more readily carried into Effect; it will, I hope, be no unstriendly Office to lay the Nature of that Address fairly before you, to represent it in it's true Light, and to unmalk the Scorpion's Sting that lies concealed under the Flowers that deck the insidious present.

It might, perhaps, be sufficient to observe that Ireland has nothing to do with an Address of the British Parliament; that Addresses are constantly set off with all the slowing Ornaments and graceful Trimmings necessary to ensure a kind Reception in the Drawing Room; that they are ever considered as Matters of Form, the Eccho of the Minister's Dictum, the Voice of Adulation, and so dismiss the fulsome Composition to it's proper Service in his Majesty's Closet—But as it has been dignisted as a Political Engine by an artful and designing Administration, and may most probably be repeated

figurate

in his Majesty's Message to the Parliament of Ireland, when the Resolutions of the Cabinet are transmitted to this Kingdom; it may be useful to hold it up to the Publick, stripped of its tinsel Ornaments, that they may see it such as it truly is, and be prepared to give a full Answer to the Castle Emissaries, who cry it up as the Palladium

of our Liberties and Constitution.

The two first Paragraphs contain little beyond the usual Introduction to such flimately Compositions, being principally confined to Compliments to His Majesty's Care, and Panegyric on the Diligence and Perseverance of his Parliament. But as it is nototions that the long and careful investigation, that the Minister boasts of, was forced on him by the Voice of the Nation, much against his Inclination, you may judge of the Probity of the Man who states it to his King as a Matter of Merit in him.

The Minister at first declared that the present Arrangement was to be final and permanent: When pressed on it's danger and absurdity, he has at times abandoned even the Idea of Permanency; but here, he has however ventured a Hope that it may be permanent.—When we come to consider the Ground on which he rests it's Permanency, we shall be better able to judge how

far this Hope is well founded.

The third Paragraph makes ample amends for the emptinels of the two former; it is full of Matter, and required all the Latitude generally generally allowed to fuch Compositions to veil the NEW DEMANDS of the British Cabinet under the modest Title of Modifications and Exceptions—And even these, the Minister would wish us to understand, were founded on the Refolutions of the Irifh Parliament. So indeed, in one Senie, they are.--If I were to throw down that Cabbin and to build the County Jail on the Spot, I might say that the Jail was built on the Foundation of the Cabbin --- But you would laugh at me, if I were to add, that the Jail and the Cabbin are in PRINCIPLE the fame .-- For tho' they were both Buildings to protect you from the Injuries of the Weather, and so far the same; you would perceive this essential Difference, that you would be possessed of the Key of your Cabbin to open and thut the Door at your pleasure; whereas those who were lodged in the Jail would be Prisoners, confined by the Will of another, and subject to Regulations and Conditions, which the Jailer might tell them were indispensably necessary to be submitted to in their Situation.—But neither the fine Building nor the fine Language would afford much Comfort and Confolation to the unhappy Prisoners—And I believe there is no Man among you, who would not prefer even the fnug Comforts and Security of an humble Cabbin to a Lodging in the most stately Jail in the Kingdom

The Minjster has indeed been driven to admit, That "he has added some REGU-B LATIONS

LATIONS AND CONDITIONS," and has then informed His Majetty—That "They are indispensably necessary for establishing the Agreement."—Let us then hold this Declaration in mind; it is pretty clear and distinct.—As to the Regulations and Conditions that are declared to be INDISPENSABLY NECESSARY, they are only the trilling ones of Ireland furrendering her Constitution and Independence with the Power of legislating for her to the British Parliament.—But as the Minister takes great Care to do away this Imputation, by affecting our independence in the 6th Paragraph, we shall consider his Statement at full length when we come to it.

In the next Paragraph however, the Minister has been a little off his Guard, or a little premature in his Declaration, for he has taken upon him to answer to his Majesty for the Conduct of his Irish Parliament, and to tell him what they Must do, as if his new System of Dependence and passive Obedience had already been finally adopted—Did Mir. Pitt venture so marked, so emphatical a Declaration from the Servility of the Assembly he spoke in; or from the Character of the Irish Parliament, as transmitted by the faithful Representations of our upright and dignisted Administration? Whatever Opinion he had Reason to entertain of either Assembly, it was a wanton Cruelty to proclaim it to the World; particularly as the Irish Parliament have still a good

good Deal of Business on Hand, that would require the Semplance of Viriue at least, to preferve their Characters from Contempt,

and their Persons from Insult.

However uncourtly it may found to the Minister, I am one of those, who must dem the Justice of the Claim set up in this Paragraph, which has a Reference to the 5th 8th, 15th and 16th Refolutions: I mul even, however harth it may found, go far-ther; and declare the Claim to be a violation of a Jolemn Agreement, and a BREACH of NATIONAL FAITH, on the Part of Great-Britain—These are strong Terms and ought to be clearly proved and well fup ported. Fortunately for Ireland nothing is

so easy.

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The Trade of Ireland with the British Colonies rests on two British Acts of Par-liament, known by the Title of the Extension of Trade, and Grant of Free Trade passed in 1779 and 1780, and in these Acts the Terms and Conditions under which Ireland is to enjoy and carry on that Trade. are expressly stipulated and distinctly sep down.-Ireland accepted the Grant under these Conditions, and passed two Acts in Conformity to them; I alk any Man, if Great-Britain can now recede from this folemn Act, open the Business afresh, refume her former Concellions, or exact new Terms or a higher Price for them, without avowing to all the World, a violation of a Jolemn Agreement, and a BREACH of NA TIONAL

TIONAL FAITH; and yet the Minister has had the Assurance to propose such an Act to his Majesty, and the Considence to add, that his Irish Parliament MUST acknowledge the Justice of it.—That his Majesty should be led by his Ministers to adopt fuch a Conduct, every true and loyal Subject must fincerely regret; but I hope no Man will fuffer his Loyalty and Affection to his King to be shaken by the intemperate Proceedings of a rash and unexperienced Minister. On this Occasion, fortunately for Ireland, fortunately for Great-Britain, fortunately for their present Connexion they are united in Opinion, their Conduct would be directed to the fame Object .- Great-Britain is no Party to the unconstitutional Claims of the Cabinet, the People difavow the Proceedings of the Minister and his Parliament, and are ready to take Part with Ireland in supporting her just Rights and Parliamentary Privileges, against Violation and Encroachment.—When the British Mi-nistry and Parliament adopted the Resolution of legistating for America, unfortunately, the People were seduced by the Hopes of Revenue to be Parties to the Act. At this Moment the Minister made a fimilar Attempt, by stating the Provision to be made by Ireland towards the Support of the British Navy as the Basis of the Settlement; but Great-Britain has been undeceived on this Point: She is now perfuaded that the rifb Revenue is a Ministerial Fallacy; and the

the Dismemberment of her Empire, with the Loss of 120 Millions and 50,000 Men, has cured her of the Folly of looking for Revenue from Poverty and Indigence. Let no moderate or timid Man dread the Confequences of the present Struggle; in the present Temper of both kingdoms, they must by uniting them in a common Cause, strengthen their Connexion; they must prove favourable to Liberty in general, and to our

Constitution in particular.

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The 5th Paragraph has been expressly fabricated as a Glossary to the 4th Refolution. I might content myfelf with afking what either this Paragraph, or any other Ministerial Paraphrase on the Resolution, can fignify to us, while the Resolution itself remains in full Force? Shall we collect the Sense from the Resolution, or from the adulatory Context of an Address? Must not the Resolution appear now still more dangerous than ever, fince the Minister has taken fuch Pains to mask his principal Battery with this Address? But is the Battery less dangerous, that it is masked; or when the Mark is thrown down, will its Operation be less destructive? But how infiduous and plausible are the Terms under which the Infult is couched? " That Provisions should be adopted for fecuring the same Privi-" leges and Advantages to the Ships and " Mariners of Ireland as may be enjoyed by those of Great-Britain," Can any thing be fokind, fo friendly, fo attentive to the

the Interests of Ireland? Did Mr. Pitt think the Irish Parliament so inimical to the Interests of their Country, that they would not adopt provisions for securing privileges and Advantages to her Commerce, unless they were compelled so to do? or did he imagine that the Irish would be so delighted with the oftentatious parade of these privileges and Advantages, as to take them on his Word, and to shut their Eyes to the long List of Restriction, Prohibition and Taxation that lurk behind.—This would be indeed catching at the Oats, and submitting to the Saddle and Bridle.

But how came the Minister in this Addrefs to omit to acquaint his Majesty with the Powers he has referred to the British Parliament, of legislating for Ireland in almost every Article of Foreign or Domestie Trade, even to the impoling Restrictions, Prohibitions and Taxes, on the Imports and Exports? did he intend to blindfold his Master or the People of Ireland? Or had the copious choice of Courtly Phrases failed in furnishing Expressions to represent in proper Colours this rough and uncouth Part of the System? Be it as it may, it is evident that the Minister has practifed the Art of Mifrepresentation in this public Act, that if he did not mean to deceive his Majesty, he has attempted to deceive the Irish Nation, and that he has difgraced the British Parliament by making them Parties to the degrading and difgraceful Attempt.

The 6th Paragraph, departing a little from the fmooth Language of the two immediately preceding, avows plainly-" That " it is indispensible that these Points should be fecured, as Conditions necessary to the " Existence and Duration of the Agreement " between the two Countries." Let us only recollect what theje Points are, namely the Power of legislating externally and internally for Ireland by the British Parliament, and we shall be the better able to judge of the Probability of the Existence and Duration of an Agreement founded on fuch Principles. But the remaining Part of the Paragraph is curious beyond Expression. "They " (that is, the above Foints) can only be " carried into Effect by Laws to be passed " by the Parliament of Ireland, which is " alone competent to bind Your Majesty's " Subjects of that Kingdom; and whole " legislative Rights we shall ever hold as " facred as our own."

As this is the boafted Recognition of Irish Independence by the British Parliament, as this is the Charm that is to dispel all the Fears and Apprehensions of Irishmen for their Liberties and Constitution, and to restore Considence in the Integrity of the Minister, I have stated it in the fulless Manner, and shall now consider it with all its boasted Graces.

In all the Arguments on this Subject, has it not been univerfally admitted, that the British Acts were not to have effect in Ire-

land until passed by the Irish Parliament ! Has this Mode of giving them validity been ever called into doubt? What then do these Words of the Address fay more, than that the Irish Parliament are to register the Bris tish Acts, and that fuch British Acts are not to have effect in Ireland until they are regiftered by the Irith Parliament? So far then we are all agreed. But what are THE POINTS that are to be carried into effect in this Manner, and that it is INDISPEN-SABLE to have fecured as Conditions neceffory to the Existence and Duration of the Agreement? Why I: BRITISH ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, restraining, prohibiting and taxing the Commerce of Ireland. Was there ever fuch glaring barefaced Absurdity obtruded on the Sense of a Nation? In the fame Breath it is declared, that the Irish Parliament is alone competent to make Laws to bind Ireland, and the same Parliament is called on to stipulate, to abandon and refign for ever the Power of framing fuch Laws: and to engage to pass precisely such Acts as shall be framed for the Purpose by the British Parliament. In making such an extraordinary Transfer of their Powers, the Minister faw how necessary it was to declare the Competency of the Irish Parliament: in a Deed of Sale or Mortgage of an Estate, it is effential to ascertain the Title and Powers of the Seller or Mortgager, without which the Contract would not be valid .-- But notwithstanding the Care that the Minister has taken

taken to affirm the Power of the Triff Paral liament, I acknowledge I do entertain a Doubt how far even the Omnipotence of that Body can reach in a Transfer of the delegated Rights of the People to the Parli ament of Britain. But this is a Question that can only be decided by a Tribunal. before which I hope it will never be necessar ry to carry the Appeal --- If Ireland should have acquired Independence, for the foles Purpose of qualifying her to make a Transfer of her Legislative Powers to the Parliament of Great Britain, she had much better have continued in her former State of Deo pendence ---- That State had been imposed by Force, the had not incurred the Diffrace of confenting to a Subjection to a Foreign Yoke.

Amidst all the political Paradoxes of the present Day, I do not recollect that any Hireling Writer, or any mere Hireling Minister has hitherto maintained, that the Parliament of Paris is in full Possession of Freedom and Independence; and yet their absolute Monarch might most truly assure them, in the boasted Words of the Minister's Address..." That his Edicts can only be care ried into Effect by Laws to be passed by the Parliament of Paris, which is alone competent to bind his Subjects of France.

" and whose Legislative Rights he shall ever " hold as facred as his own."

In Fact, this is the very Language in which Despoiss frequently addresses the Engine of it's Power; for at this Day, no C Edicis

Edica can have the Force of Law in France until it is passed or registered by the Parliament of Paris: and the Members of that illustrious Body have frequently exerted a Virtue that would do Honour to the Republics of ancient Greece and Rome—have relisted the Fury of an incensed Tyrant; and suffered Imprisonment, Banishment, and Consistation, rather than execute his unjust

and oppressive Mandates.

The Parliament of Paris enjoys and frequently exercises the Power of remonstrating, and the King and Council have occasionally liftened to their Remonstrances, and amended their Edicts in compliance with their Requisitions. But under the present Arrangement, no fuch Power would remain to the Irish Parliament; she must accept the British Acts without Remonstrance; the muf register the Ministerial Edicts without amendment; or the must at once forfeit all Right to a Participation of Commercial Adventages, which the enjoyed previous to that Arrangement; and in fo doing must renouncea Connexion with a Sifter Kingdom, whole Interests are intimately blended with her's by the hearest and dearest Ties. Such expressly flated to be the only Alterna? tive; and a more desperate Declaration never paffed the Lips of an infatinated Madman.-Let the Confequences be what every loyal Subject deprecates the most, his Majefty's Minister has provoked them, and must answer for them.

In the next Paragraph, indeed, the Min nifter feems rather apprehensive of these Confequences; and, as if frightened at his own Situation, endeavours to this the Responsibility from himself to the brish Parlia. ment: For he tells his Majefty, "That it " remains with the Parliament of beland " to judge, a cording to their Wildom and Deferetion, of these Conditions as well as of " every other Part of the Settlement propor " ed to be established by mutual Consent?" Who ever doubted the Power of the Parliament of Ireland to judge of thefe Conditions Did the Minister dread the Effects of the great Objectioniness to his Will, and too eagen a precipitancy to execute his Plan that he thought it necessary to fuggest the propriety of judging with Wildow and Did eretion; that he deemed it expedient to can tion the Irish Parliament, in the Pare of the World, to have a Watch on their Conduct, and not blindly to adopt his System without having the Appearance, at least, of examining the Conditions as well as every other part of the Settlement proposed to be established? But for what Purpose did he add; that the Settlement was to be clablished by mutual Conjent? By mutual Confent of whom? By mutual Confent of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Orde? By mutual Confess of the British and the Irish Parliaments? of by mutual Confent of the British and Irish Nations? Every Man of Sense knows that the last can alone be permanent, to will his own

own Terms, for he has abandoned final and yet the Mr. Pitt knows that the Bris tish Nation reprobates the Settlement, and Mr. Orde may be pretty well sonvinced that Ireland views it with horrors the Object is to be purfued ... It has been voted by the Parliament of Great Britain -It may poffibly be fo in Ireland, but no Man will think it the more likely to be permanent, if the Voice of the People does not concur with the Vote of their Parliament.

After the above Declaration, that the Parliaments of Ireland are to judge of the Conditions and every other part of the proposed Settlement, no Man who considers the Import of the Words, can entertain a doubt of the Resolutions of the British Parliament being submitted to the Consideration of the Parliament of Ireland, or of the Necessity of discussing them with all the Forms of Wifdom and Diferction. They may possibly be attended with a Message before and a Bill behind; and we may be possibly favoured with a Sample of the novel Species of Independence to be established under this New System; the free and foll Exercise of all the Parliamentary Forms of Examination, Committal, Report, &cc. &c. but with a ffrict injunction that no Alteration on Amendment te made to the Imperial Refolves of the British Parliament is end bush have been lo

The Minister having in this Manner, by every power of false Colouring, endeavoured to veil the Nature and Tendency of the Conditions Conditions he exacts from Ireland, while he avows and declares the indispensible Necesfity of these Conditions being submitted to by this Kingdom, has thought it necessary in the next paragraph to descend to an Apology for his Conduct, and to reff the Hopes of Justification in the purity of his purposes. So far, therefore, you have gained your point as to humble the haughty Infolence of the most affurning and self-sufficient Minister that England ever faw, and to bring the Gulprit to the Bar of your Tribunal with a laboured Attempt to justify his proceedings. When we reflect on the Character of the Man, shall we impute this Humility to a modest and amiable Diffidence that always attends true Merit, or shall we conclude, that it was wrung from his Fears and his Apprehensions by your manly Refishance and spirited Opposition to his dangerous Measures. Persist, my Countrymen. the Caufe is yours; the Enemy has already begun to give Way, push the Advantage and your power is irreflitable: Whenever you have spoken your Sentiments, they have carried Effect; there is a certain Energy in the Sound of the Irish Harp, that can make the proudest Minister tremble. The or of the

I was just going to dismiss the Remainder of the Address, as the fanciful Workings of a youthful Imagination, the Air-drawn Schemes and golden Dreams of ideal Bliss, fit only for the daubing of a sentimental Novel; when my Eye glanced on the Words

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RECIPROCAL INTEREST, and all my Indignation was roused afresh, particularly as I sound that the Words were so artfully introduced as actually to mean Nothing, while they were obviously intended to convey every Thing. Such Arts are so despisable and mean as so be unworthy of a Man; but how degrading to be adopted by the British Parliament as the Instruments of Deception, practised on a friendly, gene-

rous, and manly people!

In what part of the Settlement shall we look for reciprocal heerest ? Shall we find it in the 4th Resolution, that demands for Great-Britain an exclusive power of legislating for Ireland in Matters respecting Navigation? Shall we find it in the 5th, the 8th, the 1 cth and 16th Resolutions, that demand for the British Parliament the evolutive power of making Laws to tax, to reftrain, and prohibit, almost every Branch of our for reign Commerce? Shall we find this reciprocal Interest in binding us to the Monapoly of the East-India Company; and in tying us up from trading to any free and independent States, from the Cape of Good-Hope to the Streights of Magellan, or even attempting to open new Channels of Commerce; where we should not have to contend with the overbearing Capital and Superior Knowledge of Great-Britain (Or shall we again look for this reciprocal Interest in the 14th Resolution, whereby Great-Britain secures to her Manufacturers the perpetual Supply

of our raw Materials, and guards the Exportation of her own raw Materials by pertetual Frohibition. Is it possible that any Minister or any Man can imagine, that a Settlement founded on fuch principles can be permanent, though guarded by numberless Acts of Parliament; a Settlement that belides firiking at the Independence and fubverting the Constitution of Ireland, exacts Terms the most injurious to her Interests, the most oppressive, the most unjust? Such Abfurdity can only be accounted for by the Inexperience of the Minister, and the presumption engendered by a Train of Success, as unparalleled as it is unmerited. After deceiving the Marquis of Lanfdown, and outwitting the Marquis of Buckingham, after imposing on the people and arming them against their most value able Rights and privileges, after triumphing over the last Parliament, and trampling on the Constitution, shall we be surprised to fee similar Arts practifed to deceive the people of Ireland, while an Attempt is made to rob them of every Thing they hold most dear: But these are the last Efforts of expiring Artifice, which unmarked and execrated in the Scenes of its first Exhibition, feeks a new Field to display its Operations. But the Moment of Deception is past, and that Torrent of Influence and prejudice that overpowered the Sense and Judgment of the British Nation, and shook the sacred pillars of her Constitution, has spent its Force, and dies in gentle Murmurs against the Irish Shore. AdverThirtieth-mer man r

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